

1963

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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bitterness and bigotry, from those defiant of law, and those who pour venom into our Nation's bloodstream."

But to what mood shall we turn—to an attitude of passivity and indifference as injustices go uncorrected? After we have stopped denouncing as fanatics those persons who disagree with our views, how shall we proceed to bring about "the tolerance" and "mutual understanding" of which the President spoke so feelingly?

Plainly there is one word missing. It is a word often ignored. It is a word that presents not only the alternative to hate but points the way through which bitterness can be removed from human hearts. The word is "love." Its meaning is set forth in the Sermon on the Mount as follows:

"Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy.

"But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you."

This passage doesn't mean that your opponent is necessarily right and that you are wrong. It doesn't mean that one must abandon a justifiable viewpoint and adopt that of an adversary. It does suggest that reason must be substituted for anger. How can we begin to come to an understanding with those who are lined up on the other side of a controversy? Certainly not by calling names or by attributing reprehensible motives to people holding opposite views. For this can only widen the cleavage. It does no good to accuse anyone of immaturity or senility just because he does not agree with your philosophy.

How then can disputes be resolved between individuals and between economic or social groups?

Self-examination and simple honesty are needed on both sides. Love includes not only respect and understanding but also a willingness to listen to or read what others may be saying. President Johnson called for "tolerance" and "mutual understanding."

Too often the outbursts of anger that we note in modern life are the result of superficial or inadequate study of the basic issues that divide us. Too often we assume toward one another an arbitrariness which insists that there is only one side and that the other side must be rejected out of hand. But have we examined thoroughly the facts behind the differences that arise among us?

Do we seek to understand the human motivations which tell us that coercion, even by law, cannot by itself win the hearts of those who dissent? Can we produce tranquillity by a process of enforced conformity which has failed to take into account the many causes of individual friction? Do we cure hate merely by imprisoning those who have become embittered?

Jesus gave us the eternal advice which man has again and again disregarded. To love your enemy means to try at least to understand him. To do good to your opponents and to pray for those who despitefully use you and persecute you is to invoke the true spirit of conciliation.

We now are in the midst of a period of mourning for the President of the United States who was slain by a madman. It seems illogical to accuse the whole community of guilt or to point the finger of blame at this or that faction or ideological group among us or at the teachers or preachers of contentious doctrines here and abroad.

Society is, of course, always to blame for any failure to restrain dangerous persons who may resort to acts of violence. But it is an oversimplification to say that a deranged man—who sought vengeance for personal grievances and grudges—was incited to crime just because an atmosphere of bitterness happened coincidentally to surround the public controversies of the day.

Controversy itself can, through healthy discussion, advance rather than retard human progress. For the best solutions to our problems can come when there is full debate by the people, instead of the suppression practiced under totalitarian systems of government.

We have the God-given opportunity to love one another, which means to help one another. We can help one another by trying to understand one another.

We cannot abolish hate by edict. We can overcome its evil expression only by learning the meaning of the missing word: Love.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, in these still sorrowful days following the tragic murder of President Kennedy, much of the world is looking back into the past to find out what kind of man Lyndon B. Johnson is and what kind of President he will be. To the readers of the Anderson Independent in Anderson, S.C., this will not be a difficult task because this newspaper has been most competent in its endeavor to keep readers fully informed on the former Vice President and Senator. The transition of readers in Anderson to a full understanding of our new President will be less difficult than for some citizens in other communities.

In this connection, I bring to the attention of the Senate an outstanding editorial on President Lyndon Johnson entitled "President Lyndon Johnson: God Blessed United States With Leadership." I commend this editorial to every member of the Senate and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON: GOD BLESSED UNITED STATES WITH LEADERSHIP

On the morning of May 18, 1961, the Independent published an editorial headed "Lyndon Johnson: We Are Fortunate to Have Him as Our Vice President." We concluded with this statement:

"If Providence should strike down President Kennedy, he would be our next head of state. We should thank our stars that we have such an astute, patriotic, aggressive, determined man as Lyndon Johnson in the position of undoubted power and prestige he holds today."

Prophetic? Not necessarily so. Reassuring when such a man was only a heartbeat from the presidency? Certainly.

Men of good will throughout the world pray today for him as he assumes the almost superhuman task as President of the United States.

One of the most important and consoling of facts is that the late President John F. Kennedy—perhaps with prophetic vision of his own—took Lyndon Johnson fully into his confidence on all major issues and dangers confronting this Nation.

Thus President Johnson assumes the office with full knowledge of these issues and dangers, and with the stated determination to carry on unbroken the aims and the hopes of John F. Kennedy.

These aims and hopes are carefully mapped plans for a better nation, a more peaceful world, and determination that the United States of America shall continue to exercise the world leadership it holds.

Background of the two men was drastically different. The one, President Kennedy, was born into a world of luxury. The new President began his career in Texas as a boy shining shoes.

Yet because this is America, because both believed in the American dream, because both were endowed with intellectual and dynamic strength, they became at the same time the only U.S. leaders elected by the vote of the whole nation.

Some months ago in an interview Lyndon Johnson, speaking as Vice President, had this to say:

"President Kennedy and members of his staff and his Cabinet have given me every opportunity to be aware of all the important decisions that have been made and to participate in them and to make any recommendations I care to make.

"And I have been a party to those decisions—some important ones—the deliberations in connection with the invasion of Cuba and again last October when we had the missile crisis in Cuba.

"We had some 35 National Security Council meetings, meetings of the Executive Council of the Security Committee, of which I was a member. And I participated in all but one of those meetings.

"My recommendations were asked and received, considered. And in both instances, I was a party to both decisions. Although I want to make it abundantly clear that the responsibility is with the President and the President made the decision and accepted responsibility for it."

That crisis and its problems were but one of the many when Lyndon Johnson sat by President Kennedy's side and was consulted and fully informed.

Such procedure was a far cry from the time when the Vice-Presidency was looked upon as a dead end road where his only duties were to preside over the Senate. Americans may thank Almighty God for the wisdom and foresight of the late President Kennedy in taking his Vice President into full confidence.

Thousands of Anderson area residents recall Lyndon Johnson, campaigning here for the Democratic ticket in 1960. He spoke at the Anderson Fairgrounds and we said that those who heard him "will never forget the man and his message." (Anderson County and the Third Congressional District went overwhelmingly for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket.)

We described him as "an intellectual man, a natural leader, a man well schooled in practical politics and statesmanship. He has a down-to-earth touch, and yet he moves among the mightiest with complete ease and assurance. What is more, they listen to him and believe him."

Even then we saw him as a "world leader who is more and more capturing the attention and respect of all nations" which he has proven time and again since.

What is the philosophy of President Johnson? Here it is in his own words:

"I believe every American has something to say and, under our system, a right to an audience.

"I believe there is always a national answer to every national problem. Believing this, I do not think there are necessarily two sides to every question. However, sometimes * * * often * * * there is a right side and a wrong side.

"I believe achievement of the full potential of our natural resources, physical and human, is the highest purpose of governmental policies next to the protection of those rights we hold inalienable.

"I believe waste is the continuing enemy of our civilization. I believe that the prevention of waste * * * waste of resources, of human lives, and opportunity * * * is the most dynamic of the responsibilities of our Government."

Yet, as the Independent commented more than 2 years ago, "he is not an ivory tower philosopher, an idle dreamer, a visionary without the power and energy to turn dreams into reality."

A measure of the new President, heartening to the Nation in estimating his stature,

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is to be found in the first simple statement he made upon taking the oath of office: "I will do my best. That is all I can do. I ask for your help, and God's."

The Nation knows that with President Johnson doing his best there is nothing to fear, that the country will go forward, and the world leadership will remain firmly in the grasp of the United States of America.

As the new President assumes his burdens, we extend to him the heartfelt and prayerful hope that a nation united by tragedy and realization of his problems will uphold his arms and give him new strength in the crucial months and years ahead. (The Harris nationwide poll will disclose tomorrow that 70 percent of the people of the United States feel that Lyndon Johnson will make an excellent President.)

The Independent is confident that the new President will have the full support of the people of South Carolina.

SITUATION IN VIETNAM

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, today we received notice that the first contingent of 1,000 American troops is about to be withdrawn from South Vietnam. The withdrawal will still leave a great number of American technicians and trainees working over there in an effort to fight communism, which is attacking throughout that whole area.

The south Asian situation has been growing increasingly difficult over the past 3 or 4 years. It was hoped, at least by many in the State Department and the CIA, that the coup which recently took place would substantially increase the effort to counteract the Communists in South Vietnam.

Recently, an article entitled "Vietnam Coup Has Its Price," written by Marguerite Higgins and published in the Evening Star commented on what is happening in the war in South Vietnam since the coup has taken place.

I believe Marguerite Higgins is well known to all Senators. Not only is Marguerite Higgins well qualified on the subject but also the article itself casts some doubt on the speed of the success of our efforts in South Vietnam.

The article should be of interest to all Senators, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VIETNAM COUP HAS ITS PRICE
(By Marguerite Higgins)

SAIGON.—President Johnson has interlarded Vietnam's problems at a time when the situation is likely to get worse—in terms of battles and terroristic attacks—before it gets better.

There already has been a setback in the war against Communist Vietcong since the coup d'etat occurred November 1. But this was predictable.

Those Americans who felt that the coup d'etat was in the interests of the United States were fully warned that a price would have to be paid for getting rid of President Ngo Dinh Diem and his brother, adviser, Ngo Dinh Nhu.

For example, it is impossible to replace nearly 40 province chiefs who are the backbone of the war effort without creating uncertainty and a hiatus in authority that amounts to an invitation to the Communists to increase their pressure.

MORE TERRORISM

The price paid for the coup d'etat included a sharp rise in terroristic bombing attacks in Saigon. President Diem's police and special forces may have been guilty of brutality, but they did manage to reduce terrorism inside Saigon to almost nothing.

In the crucial and rich Mekong River delta area, there have also been important losses of real estate. On a visit to the 21st Division area near Mytho in August of this year, I was able to drive in a single unarmed jeep through a large strategic hamlet complex of which Maj. Olen O'Connor, the sector adviser, was very proud. The area had been virtually immune to Vietcong harassment for the entire year.

But in revisiting the area this month, Maj. O'Connor said the entire hamlet had been completely infiltrated by the Vietcong in operations begun November 3, two days after the coup d'etat.

GAINS TEMPORARY

These gains, hopefully, are temporary and will be reversed when the new military junta has a chance to put its mind back on the war.

Despite the sadness of any setback, the stepped-up tempo of the Vietcong could be of use if it dispelled the myth that dancing in the streets of Saigon and the popularity of the military junta would work some magic on the war. This is misleading nonsense.

If popularity or democracy really were the best weapon against communism, Czechoslovakia's Jan Masaryk would not be dead today and Czechoslovakia would not be Communist. Czechoslovakia's democratic ways could not save it from the Communist coup d'etat of 1948.

In talking of popularity in Vietnam, the question must be asked, "Popularity with whom?"

CRITICAL INTELLECTUALS

The military junta's popularity is with the citified, educated students, particularly those of Saigon and Hue. But these intellectuals form a small percent of the population in the city which in turn represents less than 10 percent of Vietnam's largely peasant population of 14 million.

Further, the intellectuals of Vietnam always have been undisciplined, driven by factionalism and jealousies and convinced that constant criticism is a mark of intelligence.

In six different trips to Vietnam this reporter has found students and intellectuals markedly uninterested in fighting or winning the war against the Communist Vietcong—if it means a contribution from them.

Now, many students are hailing the death of Mr. Diem, in contrast to peasants who take a wait-and-see attitude. And none of the students showed any change in their aversion to help the war effort.

COURTS DANGER

In its earnest efforts to be "liberal" and please the Americans with its democratic image, the military junta has begun to court the same danger of "mobocracy" that brought on a crisis in such Asian countries as Korea.

Just last week in Hue, 10,000 students demonstrated to demand the firing of teachers who had failed to denounce Mr. Diem vigorously enough to suit them. There have been similar demonstrations in Saigon and the provinces.

This Asia version of on-to-the-guillotine has been encouraged by the excesses of the Saigon press.

Even the most anti-Diem Vietnamese of them all, the Buddhist leader, Thich Tri Quang, a militant one-time member of the Communist Vietminh liberation movement,

complained about the Saigon press over an interview which quoted him, but which he said he had never given.

The targets of some of the Saigon press smear campaigns include Gen. Paul Harkins, head of the American military mission.

The Saigon press, even at one point, set up a cry for the blood of President Diem's 94-year-old mother.

HANDICAPS GENERALS

Under pressure of this extremism, the military junta has arrested many persons without confronting them with any legal charges and merely on the suspicion of having been "excessively loyal."

These pressures from the mob, and the Vietnam press, are clearly handicapping the generals from getting their minds off the political aftermath of the coup and back on to the war.

Said a British official currently in Vietnam, who was instrumental in winning the anti-Communist guerrilla war in Malaya:

"A certain degree of authoritarianism is necessary to win this type of war. When I see what license and scurrility result from the so-called new freedoms here, I think people—and press—of Vietnam need discipline far more than the people of Malaya."

FINANCIAL HOLDINGS AND HISTORY OF FINANCIAL DEALINGS OF SENATOR PROXMIRE, OF WISCONSIN, SINCE AUGUST 1957

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I submit, for the RECORD, my financial holdings and the history of my financial dealings since I was elected to the Senate in August 1957.

When I was first elected to the U.S. Senate, my principal financial interest consisted of ownership of my home in Madison, Wis., one automobile, two small checking accounts and one savings and loan account. In addition, I was the 50-percent stockholder in the Artcraft Press Co. of Waterloo, Wis.

Because I was appointed to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee of the Senate, I sold my equity interest in the Artcraft Press Co. to Harry Mikalson, of Lake Mills, Wis., who had owned the other 50-percent interest in the firm. I made this sale a few weeks after my 1957 election. Mikalson in turn financed his purchase through a note to be liquidated over a period of years with my father, the late Dr. Theodore S. Proxmire. That note has been steadily reduced. The little that remains of the note is still in the undistributed portion of my father's estate.

When the estate of my father was settled after his death on December 16, 1959, I agreed with my sister—the other principal heir—that she was to receive the holdings in banking stocks of my late father in order to avoid any possible conflict of interest on my part that might develop because of my membership on the Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

I did inherit holdings in a variety of stocks and bonds, the annual income from which has varied between \$5,000 and \$6,000. Late this year I sold all of the common stocks I owned. Accordingly, my present financial holdings consist exclusively of U.S. Government obligations; bills, notes, and bonds;